

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02974 271950Z

73

ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 2974

DEPT FOR A/O AND WHITE HOUSE FOR NORMAL EUROPEAN TRIP DISTRIBUTION

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE

PARIS ALSO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: ADS DECLAS MAY 30, 1975

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC

SUBJ: NATO SUMMIT: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS

1. MISSION HAS RECEIVED IN CONFIDENCE THE FOLLOWING SPEAKING NOTES FROM WHICH SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS WILL MAKE HIS OPENING REMARKS TO THE NATO SUMMIT ON MAY 29. THESE REMARKS WILL BECOME UNCLASSIFIED WHEN DELIVERED AT THE BRIEF INITIAL CEREMONIAL SESSION OPENING THE NATO SUMMIT. THE FIRST FIVE PARAGRAPHS OF THIS STATEMENT WILL BE DELIVERED BY THE SYG IN FRENCH AND THE REMAINDER IN ENGLISH.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF SYG'S INTRODUCTORY REMARKS:

AS SECRETARY-GENERAL, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD MY WORDS OF WELCOME TO THOSE ALREADY EXPRESSED SO ELOQUENTLY BY PRIME MINISTER TINDEMANS AND OUR PRESIDENT D'HONNEUR, PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS.

I AM HONOURED TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHAIR THIS MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, FEATURED BY THE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 02974 271950Z

PRESENCE OF SO MANY OF THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. PRESIDENT GERALD FORD OF THE UNITED STATES IS PAYING HIS FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT TO EUROPE ON THIS OCCASION AND I AM GLAD TO SEE ONCE MORE IN BRUSSELS MANY OF YOU WHO WERE

HERE NEARLY A YEAR AGO TO CELEBRATE THE SIGNING OF THE OTTAWA DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS. I WELCOME ALSO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE COME HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME. SOME OF YOU HAVE REACHED YOUR PRESENT POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY IN DRAMATIC FASHION, BUT EACH PERSONIFIES IN HIS OWN WAY THE COMMON ASPIRATIONS OF ALL OUR PEOPLES FOR DEMOCRATIC SOLUTIONS TO GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY GRATIFYING BECAUSE IT RE-EMPHASIZES THE FUNDAMENTAL REASON FOR THE CREATION OF THE ALLIANCE IN THE FIRST PLACE - TO ENSURE THE MAINTENANCE AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF FREE GOVERNMENTS. IT SERVES TO REMIND US ALSO THAT DEMOCRACY IS A PROCESS RATHER THAN A STATIC STATE OF AFFAIRS, AND THAT ITS HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT REQUIRES SACRIFICE, DEDICATION AND TOLERANCE.

DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL REPRESENTS IN MICROCOSM THE GREAT STRENGTHS AND OCCASIONAL FRAILTIES OF PLURALIST DEMOCRACY. THE NATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE NOT OBLIGED TO AGREE WITH ONE ANOTHER ON ALL MATERS, MERELY ON THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE, NAMELY THAT THEY WISH TO MAINTAIN THEIR FREE ASSOCIATION WITH THEIR ALLIES TO ENSURE THE COMMON DEFENSE. THIS APPROACH DOES NOT ALWAYS PROVIDE FOR THE SPEEDIEST POSSIBLE SOLUTION OF ALL PROBLEMS UNDER DISCUSSION BUT IT DOES ENSURE THAT EACH VOICE WILL BE HEEDDED AND, ABOVE ALL, IT KEEPS OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT REFLECTION OR PERSUASION WILL LEAD THOSE NOT PRESENTLY IN AGREEMENT WITH THE MAJORITY TO REASSESS THEIR POSITIONS. SOME MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE HAVE PARTICULAR INTERESTS, STEMMING FROM HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHIC OR ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS, WHICH ARE NOT NECESSARILY IDENTICAL WITH THOSE OF THEIR ALLIES. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH INTERESTS ANNOT BE MADE COMPATIBLE WITH THOSE OF THE OTHERS IN THE PROCESS OF DISCUSSION AND GREATER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

RECENT EVENTS HAVE ONLY RECONFIRMED MY OWN CONVICTION THAT IT IS PRECISELY THIS KIND OF POLITICAL STRUCTURE, FOUNDED ON A PROGRESSIVE ACCOMMODATION OF INTERESTS, WHICH THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WISH TO SEE PRESERVED AND STRENGTHENED. TOTALITARIANISMS, WHETHER OF THE LEFT OR THE RIGHT, AND WHATEVER THEIR CLAIMS TO GREATER SHORT-TERM EFFICIENCY IN OPERATION, LACK THE CRUCIAL ELEMENTS OF PUBLIC CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 02974 271950Z

ACCEPTANCE AND ADAPTABILITY TO CHANGE. THIS LACK HAS INEVITABLY LED THEM, THROUGHOUT HISTORY, TOWARDS STAGNATION AND THEIR EVENTUAL OVERTHROW, FREQUENTLY BY VIOLENT MEANS.

ON THE WHOLE, WE CAN LOOK BACK WITH SATISFACTION ON THE ROLE THIS ORGANIZATION HAS PLAYED IN KEEPING ITS MEMBER NATIONS IN STEP WITH THE EVER-CHANGING CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF MODERN LIFE. WE CAN ALSO LOOK FORWARD, I THINK WITH CONFIDENCE, TO THE CONTINUED RELEVANCE OF THE ALLIANCE AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO ITS VITAL ROLE AS THE MIDWIFE OF EVOLUTION, RATHER THAN REVOLUTION.

WHAT, THEN, ARE THE PRINCIPAL CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES WHICH FACE US IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD? FIRST OF ALL, IT IS VITAL, I BELIEVE, TO MAINTAIN AN ADEQUATE DEFENCE POSTURE.

ONLY THIS WILL PERMIT US TO MAINTAIN WHAT SOVIET THEORISTS MIGHT REFER TO AS A FAVOURABLE CORRELATION OF FORCES AS THE BASIS FOR REAL PROGRESS IN MANAGING THE MANY THORNY ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE EAST AND WEST. CREDIBLE MILITARY STRENGTH IS THEREFORE AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN OUR CONTINUING SEARCH FOR GENUINE AND LASTING DETENTE.

BUT MILITARY STRENGTH IS NOT THE ONLY PREREQUISITE TO THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF OUR COMMON TASKS. THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE INTER-ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH DETAILED AND FRANK POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS IS ALSO REQUIRED. THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL IS THE PRIMARY FORUM FOR SUCH CONSULTATIONS AND IT IS HERE THAT THE BALANCE SHEET MUST BE DRAWN ON THE STATE OF THE ALLIANCE.

IN FACT, THE KEY WORD IN ALL OUR EFFORTS MUST BE "BALANCE"; BALANCE NOT ONLY IN THE ARMED FORCES THE ALLIANCE CAN MUSTER IN THE FACE OF THE CONTINUALLY GROWING MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES, BUT ALSO BALANCE AMONG OUR OWN EFFORTS IN THE MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FIELDS. WE MUST NOT IGNORE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE EXTENT TO WHICH OUR MILITARY CAPACITY, AND THE DIPLOMATIC CREDIBILITY WHICH RESULTS FROM IT, IS DEPENDENT ON THE GOOD FUNCTIONING OF OUR ECONOMIES. I NEED HARDLY REMIND ANYONE IN THIS ROOM OF HOW MUCH OUR ECONOMIES, IN TURN, ARE TUNED TO THE POLITICAL REVERBERATIONS AFFECTING THE WORLD SUPPLY OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS.

IN MORE CONCRETE TERMS, IT IS OUR TASK AT THIS EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL TO SET OUR COURSE FOR THE FUTURE. IN OUR REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, WE MUST ASSESS THE PROSPECTS FOR DETENTE, AND PARTICULARLY FOR CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 02974 271950Z

MEANINGFUL PROGRESS IN THE VARIOUS NEGOTIATIONS NOW GOING ON BILATERALLY AS WELL AS MULTILATERALLY BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

OUR OVERALL PURPOSE IS TO ATTAIN A STEADY EQUILIBRIUM PROVIDING CONTINUED SECURITY WHILE LOWERING TENSIONS. IN PURSUIT OF THIS OBJECTIVE, THE NATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE PREPARED TO CONCLUDE AGREEMENTS ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT. ANY UNDERSTANDINGS WE REACH MUST, OF COURSE, BE OF INTEREST AND BENEFIT TO BOTH SIDES. TO ATTAIN OUR GOALS, WE MUST BE PATIENT AND RESULTUE, AVOIDING EITHER EUPHORIA OR UNDUE PESSIMISM AND WE REALIZE THAT DETENTE, LIKE DEMOCRACY, IS A PROCESS RATHER THAN A FINAL SUM.

THE ALLIANCE CAN POINT WITH PRIDE ONCE MORE TO THE FACT THAT IT HAS HELPED TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA. NOT ALL AREAS OF THE WORLD HAVE BEEN SO FORTUNATE, HOWEVER, S THE FINAL TRAGEDY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA HAS DEMONSTRATED. LESS THAN TWO YEARS AGO, MOREOVER,, THE NATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST WERE AGAIN ENGAGED IN FULL-SCALE COMBAT AND THE DANGERS OF AN EARLY REPETITION OF THAT SCENE REMAIN IN THE FOREFRONT OF OUR CONCERNS.

IN THE LIGHT OF THIS RECENT HISTORY, NOT TO MENTION MORE

DISTANT EVENTS, IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO ASSUME THAT PEACE AND PROSPERITY ARE THE NATURAL ORDER OF MANKIND. BOTH PEACE AND PROSPERITY MUST BE PLANNED FOR, WORKED FOR, AND PAID FOR. EXPERIENCE TEACHES, HOWEVER, THAT VIGOROUS AND INTELLIGENT ACTION IN TIME CAN REDUCE THE COST AND INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE COUNCIL INITIATES MEETINGS LATER TODAY AND TOMORROW WILL APPLY ITS COLLECTIVE WISDOM IN THAT DIRECTION.

END TEXT. BRUCE

CONFIDENTIAL

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